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## X.—CHAUCER'S TALE OF IRELAND

There seem many strong reasons for deeming the unhappy love-story in Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite* the invention of the poet's own day and hour. Unlike its seventy-line prelude of Theseus and Ipolita and desolate Thebes, which as everybody knows, is a blending of Statius and Boccaccio—anticipating the riper treatment of the same theme in the beginning of *The Knight's Tale*—the story owes nothing to any known source. Indeed Chaucer implicitly disclaims any originals of his narrative, even when explicitly professing them, for, "when speaking of his finding an old story in Latin, he is actually translating from an Italian poem which treats of a story not found in Latin,"<sup>1</sup> and his solemn appeal to the misty authority of that *nominis umbra*, "Corinne," of whom more anon, seems devised to blur the credulous reader's vision. Moreover, he runs directly counter to a dominant motive of the *Teseide*, the unswerving loyalty of that paragon among lovers, the Theban Arcite, by making him, in this little poem, the weakest of philanderers. For that violent reversal of character<sup>2</sup> there must have been indeed some strong provocation from without, but certainly not from any books that we know. The precedent, too, of *The Complaint of Mars* suggests strongly some contemporary court-scandal, cloaked in the protecting garb of the antique. Our poem rises far above the conventional "complaint" in its *leitmotif*—a distinctive situation, concrete and per-

<sup>1</sup>Skeat, *Complete Works of Chaucer*, I, 530.

<sup>2</sup>Lydgate doubtless felt deeply the embarrassment of the double identity of this Chaucerian figure, when, in his *Complaint of the Black Knight*, 368, 379, he cites Arcite both among true knights and false.

sonal, unfolded with an abiding sense of reality and in the glow of a righteous indignation.

Others have felt strongly the force of arguments so immediately obvious. To Root <sup>3</sup> "it is not impossible that Chaucer may have intended to celebrate some love story of the English court, and that, being busy with the *Teseide*, he chose to shadow forth his real personages under names borrowed from the court of Theseus, inventing the name 'Corinne' to increase the obscurity of his allegory." To Bilderbeck, <sup>4</sup> "the peculiar way in which the story is dovetailed into the Theseus legend, Chaucer's mystification as to a Latin original, from which he professes to have derived his story, and the tone of sarcasm which seems to characterize certain passages in the poem afford ground for the suspicion that the work may have had some references to recent incidents in real life." So far, so good! But when Bilderbeck finds the poem's motive in the notorious infidelity of Robert de Vere to his wife, Philippa de Coucy, we are unconvinced, not so much because (as Tatlock <sup>5</sup> objects) Chaucer's indebtedness to the Earl of Oxford and the date of the nobleman's liaison with Launcecrone, 1387, are stumbling blocks in the way of acceptance, but because there are no strong grounds for finding our key to the problem here rather than in any other court intrigue of the time. The final identification of Chaucer's story with any contemporary example of man's inhumanity to woman must be an irresistible conclusion, not an irresponsible conjecture.

Now, what is the disguised purpose of Chaucer? Like Shakspeare's John of Gaunt, he delighted to play nicely with

<sup>3</sup> *Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 68. Ten Brink, too, assumes "some drama in real life" (*Eng. Lit.*, II, 190).

<sup>4</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1896, I, 301.

<sup>5</sup> *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 83 f.

names, with "Mauny" ("wicked nest"), with "Vache" ("beste"), with "Lancaster of Richmond" ("long castle on a rich hill"). Is there double meaning in the names of our poem—in "the Queen of Ermony," in "Anelida," in "Arcite"? Could these, by any chance, apply to men and women whom Chaucer knew? What English significance can lie in "Ermony," the romance-name of Armenia, which, by the way, seems sadly out of place in this ostensibly Theban galley?<sup>6</sup> Let us mark that "Ermony" (or "Ermonia") is not only "Armenia," but a variant of "Ormonde," the title of the great Irish house of Butler. In 1327 young James le Botiller, whose family had been established in Ireland under Henry II, in the person of Theobald Walter, the King's butler or cup-bearer, married King Edward III's cousin, Eleanor, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, High Constable of England, and received, in the succeeding year, the title of Earl of Ormonde with a grant of the liberties and other royal privileges in Tipperary including the rights of a palatine in that country. As Gilbert says,<sup>7</sup> "The name of 'Ermon,' 'Ormon,' 'Ormonde' or 'Ormounde,' intended to represent the Gaelic *Ur-Mhumhain* or Eastern Munster, was applied to lands in the north of Tipperary." "Comes Ermonie (Ormonie)" is the official title of the Ormonde earls in the chronicles and documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Annals of the Monastery of St. Mary, Dublin,<sup>8</sup> record

<sup>6</sup> Koepfel is naturally surprised at the inclusion of a "Queen of Ermony" among the "noble folk" of Thebes; and suggests (*Englische Studien*, xx, 157) the unhappy emendation, "Emony," *Haemonia* or *Thessaly*.

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Viceroy of Ireland*, 1865, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey (Rolls Ser.)*, edited by Gilbert, II, 285.

under 1382: "Dominus Jacobus le Botiller, Comes Ermonie, miles strenuus et egregius in armis, quem nunquam hostis vicit, die Sancti Luce Evangeliste (Oct. 18, 1382) in castro suo de Croktoffe multis dolentibus obiit." In the Patent and Close Rolls of Ireland of the time of the Edwards, Richard and Henries,<sup>9</sup> the abbreviation of the Latin title occurs no less than one hundred times, forty times as "Com' Ermon'," sixty times as "Com' Ormon'." Royal grants to the family employ the "Ermonie" form of the name.<sup>10</sup> The third Earl, who is the chief subject of our story, repeatedly endorses petitions as "Comes Ermonie, Justiciarius Hibernie."<sup>11</sup> It seems in every way fitting then that the Countess of Ormonde or Ermon ("Comtissa Ermonie")<sup>12</sup> should be romanticized as "the Quene of Ermony"—particularly when we remember the royal blood and the royal privileges of this race of viceroys,<sup>13</sup> whose name in certain parts of Ireland

<sup>9</sup> *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, 1828.

<sup>10</sup> See Carte's citation (*Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Introduction, I, lxix, lxxiv) of a grant of 3 Richard II to "James le Botiller, Earl of Ermon," and one of 8 Henry IV "at the request of the late Earl of Ermon." The English Patent Rolls employ not infrequently the "Ermon" form (see particularly 1377-1381).

<sup>11</sup> See *King's Council in Ireland*, 16 Richard II (*Rolls Ser.*), edited by Graves, pp. 40, 45, 49, 224.

<sup>12</sup> It is of interest that the Digby MS. of *Anelida and Arcite* uses this same Latin form, "Explicit lamentatio Annelide Regine Ermonie."

<sup>13</sup> Graves, *King's Council in Ireland*, xii, cites as a specimen of the palatinate jurisdiction employed by the Earl of Ormonde in the Tipperary district, a "Pardon," which follows almost verbatim the royal instruments of the same nature: "Jacobus le Botiller, Comes Ermonie, Dominus Libertatis Typpareriensis, omnibus baillivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem! Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali pardonavimus Roberto Prendergast de Novo Castro sectam pacis, et." And Wylie in his admirable

was more potent than the King's own. And if Chaucer's "Ermony" led men's thoughts astray from Ormonde to Armenia,<sup>14</sup> as it well might do at a time when the King of that Eastern land was visiting England,<sup>14a</sup> that was a prime move in our poet's baffling game.

So much for "Ermony." Now, what of "Anelida"? Etymology has climbed dizzier heights than its wont in the suggestion of Henry Bradshaw,<sup>15</sup> who this time missed his guess, that Anelida is identical with Anahita (Anaitis), the ancient goddess of Persia and Armenia. Schick's citation<sup>16</sup> from the *Intelligenza* of the lovers, "La bella Analida e lo bono Ivano" seems to him to point to some Round Table romance of Iwain for the origin of the name "Anelida." A deep plunge downward into the world of real life and of Chaucer makes us pleasantly aware that "Anelida" or "Annelida" is a happy play upon the name of Anne Welle, who was the young Countesse of Ormonde, when our poem was in the shaping.<sup>16a</sup> Anne Welle

chapter on the third Earl (*History of England under Henry the Fourth*, chap. xlv, II, 126 f.), shows that he exerted sovereign rights, sometimes in defiance of the King.

<sup>14</sup> Chaucer's use of the ambiguous "Ermony" for the Ormonde title (*Comtissa Ermonie*) is exactly paralleled by Spenser, who takes the name "Roffy" ("Roffin") from the *Eclogues* of Marot, where it stands for Pierre Roffet, and applies it in his *Calendar* (September, 179, 201, 203) to the Bishop of Rochester (*Episcopus Roffinensis*). Mark in a later day the popular adaptation of the romantic "Malbrouk" of old song, "Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre," to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

<sup>14a</sup> The King of Armenia was in England as Richard's guest for two months after Christmas, 1385 (see *Ypodigma Neustriacæ*, p. 543, and Malverne's *Cont. of Polychronicon*, IX, 79)—a date, which, as we shall see, is very close to the time of our poem.

<sup>15</sup> See Crowell, "Chaucer's 'Queen Anelida,'" *Essays on Chaucer, Chaucer Society*, 1892, p. 615.

<sup>16</sup> *Temple of Glas, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser.*, IX, p. cxx.

<sup>16a</sup> "Anelida" as a word-play upon "Anne Welle" recalls the

or Anelida was the daughter of John, Lord Welle(s), the head of a great Lincolnshire family, which had held its lands of Welle and Alford and many other manors since the Conquest, and its barony since 1299.<sup>17</sup> Anne's father married in extreme youth a girl of royal blood, daughter of John, Lord Mowbray, and granddaughter of Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, sole heir of Thomas Plantagenet, the son of Edward I.—a descent not unworthy of a "Queen of Ermony." We first meet Anne as the wife of Ormonde in an Aylesbury deed of June 17, 1386 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). She could not then have been more than sixteen, for her father,<sup>18</sup>—himself born of an eighteen-year

familiar "Philisides" for "Phili(p) Sid(ney) and "Art(h)egal" for "Arthur Grey." And who was Spenser's "Rosalinde?" Chaucer's "fair Anelida" (*Anelida and Arcite*, 139, 167) suggests that he was indebted to the romantic name ("la bella Analida"), which so admirably suited his enigmatic purpose. Tradition and word-play seem to contend in the two spellings, "Anelida" and "Annelida" of Chaucer's scribes and followers—a variation which probably goes back to Chaucer himself. I have discovered that Chaucer elsewhere uses the same device with even larger significance, but that is another story, which awaits the telling.

<sup>17</sup> For an account of the family and barony of Welle or Welles—Chaucer's day prefers the first spelling, as ours the second—see Massingberd, *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. vi (1900-1901), Dugdale, *Baronage*, II, 10, and Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, s. v. "Welles." Anne's nephew, Lionel, Lord Welle, was appointed Viceroy of Ireland in 1438, perhaps on account of his kinship with the Ormondes.

<sup>18</sup> On May 6, 1373, John, Lord Welle, proves his age and has seisin of his land, and the King takes his homage and fealty (*Cal. Close Rolls*). He had evidently attained his majority within a year. He was a "bonny fighter" in both public and private warfare. He served in both the French and the Scottish wars (Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. by Kervyn, VIII, 280, IX, 31). He was just under forty in 1390, when he ran a-tilt on London Bridge with Lindsay, Lord Crawford, for the honor of England against Scotland and was unhorsed after a gallant breaking of lances (John of Malverne, *Cont. of Polychronicon*, IX, 235; Holinshed's *Scotland*, (wrongly under 1398),

old father—was only eighteen or nineteen in 1370, and she was his second daughter.<sup>19</sup> She might have been less than sixteen in 1386, as in that day girls of twelve and boys of fourteen, particularly of the highest class, were frequently mated, and as no children came to her until four or five years later,<sup>20</sup> but we must remember that Chaucer is picturing Anelida not as a child but as a young woman.<sup>21</sup> For strong reasons that I shall give later, I am inclined to believe that she was married a year or two before 1386 and that Ormonde played her false within a year of the wedding. Even had she married in her cradle, she could not have become the Countess of Ormonde ("the Queen of Ermony") before October 16, 1382, when her young husband came into his title—hence a *terminus a quo* for our poem.

Anne Welle, Comtissa Ermonie, is Anelida, Queen of Ermony. But why should Chaucer give the name of Arcite to the man who had "wedded her heart to him with a ring," her lord, the young Earl of Ormonde? And the

Wyntoun, *Croneykill*, Bk. ix, ch. xi (1390), Stow's *Survey of London*, used by Kervyn, xxiii, 282, Wylie, *Hist. of Henry IV*, ii, 62-63, etc.) He is frequently Commissioner for the Lindsay region of Lincolnshire, and is summoned to Parliament until his death in 1421.

<sup>19</sup> Her elder sister, Margery, married first John de Huntingfield and second, Lord Scrope of Masham (*Test, Eboracensia*, Surtees Soc., 1836, i, 385, ii, 184). Margery died in 1422.

<sup>20</sup> Anne's eldest son, James, the fourth Earl of Ormonde, was born in 1390-1391, for he came of age in 13 Henry IV, 1411-1412 (*Graves, King's Council in Ireland*, pp. xxix, 281).

<sup>21</sup> The "twenty yeer of elde" of the heroine of *Anelida and Arcite* (l. 78) causes little difficulty, as a middle-aged bard, like a middle-aged professor, makes small distinction between sixteen and twenty. In those days girls matured early. On the other hand, Froissart tells us that Blanche of Lancaster was but twenty-two ("environ de vingt-deux ans"), when she was really twenty-eight (*Poesies*, Scheler, ii, 8).



answer is simple. Because censure of an earl must be covert, no name that the poet could find anywhere, searched he ever so widely, would at once better conceal and reveal a nobleman of royal blood who was a d'Arcy on his mother's side. "Anelida" for Anne Welle and "Arcite" for d'Arcy! <sup>21a</sup> As everybody acquainted with the Irish peerage perfectly well remembered, the second Earl of Ormonde, known as "the noble earl" on account of his kingly strain, had been intrusted in early youth to the wardship of a man of great wisdom and valor, Sir John d'Arcy, five times lord justice of Ireland, who had wedded the young man to his daughter, Elizabeth, "a very honorable and wise lady." <sup>22</sup> This second Earl was justiciar to Chaucer's patron, Prince Lionel, when he was in Ireland as conqueror and ruler just about the time of the third Earl's birth (1362)—of which Lionel and his Irish residence

<sup>21a</sup> Chaucer's sly indication of Ormonde by a disguised form of the maternal d'Arcy will not seem forced to him who remembers that the mother's name of a man of rank was usually as well known as the father's, and indeed was not infrequently assumed for the sake of property or title (as by Froissart's Viscount D'Acy, sometimes called d'Aunay, *Chroniques*, x, 118, or by the Lusignans, who became d'Angles). Chaucer's "Arcite" for d'Arcy is as good word-play as the popular puns on King Richard's Ministers, Bush(ey), Bag(ot) and Green(e) (*Political Poems*, I, 363), and is much better than Gower's "Nova Villa Macedo" for Alexander de Neville, "Tribulus" for Brembel, and "hirundo" for Arundel (*Tripertite Chronicle*, I, 103, 154, 215), or than Skelton's "maris lupus" ("sea-wolf" or "wolf-sea") for Wolsey. Froissart's "(d')art" for the last syllable of his name, -art, offers a suggestive parallel (*L'Espinette Amoureuse*, 3380-3381):—"Je hantoie la tempre et tart Dont frois, dont chauds, navres d'un dart."

<sup>22</sup> See Carte, *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, lxix, Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, iv, 8-9, Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*, chap. vi, *D. N. B.*, s. v. James Butler. Elizabeth d'Arcy was still alive at the time of *Anelida and Arcite*, having married shortly after her first husband's death Sir Robert Herford (*Cal. Close Rolls*, July 24, 1384).

much more anon. James, the third Earl, was a minor at his father's death, October 18, 1382, as appears from a record in the Escheator's account of 19 Richard II. (Carte), but he must have been of age a year later, when the King sends a mandate to Philip de Courtenay to permit his kinsman, James Boteller, son and heir of the late Earl of Ormonde to come to England to do homage in person for his lands.<sup>23</sup> Certainly he was twenty-one by 1384 when he was appointed deputy to this same lord lieutenant. He was much in England in his young manhood,<sup>24</sup> and had thus ample opportunity of meeting at court the young daughter of Lord Welle, or at least her father. In his early twenties he wins the good will and bounty of Richard by his "good service in Ireland."<sup>25</sup> and receives from the King on November 9, 1385, the belt of knighthood.<sup>26</sup>

Is there any proof that the third Earl gave his wife such "unkind cause for grief" as his name-fellow, Arcite, in our poem? There are against him two pieces of evidence more potent than any pages in Froissart or in Walsingham; and these are his two illegitimate sons<sup>27</sup> both born in the early or middle eighties of the fourteenth century, when Chaucer was writing *Anelida*. The first of these was Thomas le Botiller, the "Baccagh" or "Lame," a notable person in the Ireland of 1406 to 1419. When on January 2 of the earlier year, the King granted to him, then a brother of the military order of Hospitallers at Kil-

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Nov. 16, 1383.

<sup>24</sup> See *Cal. Pat. Rolls* for the presentation of three men successively (Jan. 20, 1383, Mar. 18, 1383, June 23, 1384) to the church of Retherfield Pippard in Oxon., by reason of their custody of the land and heir of James, late Earl of Ormonde.

<sup>25</sup> *Cal. Close Rolls*, March 10, 1385.

<sup>26</sup> Malverne, *Cont. of Polychronicon*, ix, 70.

<sup>27</sup> See Carte, *Life of Duke of Ormonde*, lxxiii.

mainham, pardon for all former breaches of the peace, he must have been at least twenty-one. By May 1, 1408 he had become Prior of Kilmainham, and had already won so high a reputation that he was soon appointed deputy by Thomas of Lancaster during that prince's absence in England.<sup>28</sup> His later career was glorious, for he was a strong man, like all of the Butler blood. Thomas could hardly have been born after 1384 or 1385. The other natural son, who bore his father's name, James le Botiller, was appointed by the King on February 15, 1408,<sup>29</sup> a member of a commission to investigate sedition in Kilkenny, Waterford and Tipperary—a post which suggests full age. The year 1386 would seem to be the latest possible date of the birth of James, who became the ancestor of the Lords of Cahir (Carte). It is possible that both of these bastards were born before Ormonde's marriage to Anne Welle—which was some time before June 1386—but it is not probable, for, in such case, they, being men of weight with large family influence, would have come earlier into public notice. But whatever be the dates of their birth, their very existence sustains our Ormonde identification. We are merely seeking an exposition of James Butler the third Earl's life which will harmonize facts, as far as we know them, with Chaucer's story of Arcite's liaison. Had he resembled his father, "the chaste Earl," *Anelida and Arcite* could never have been written of him. The

<sup>28</sup> *Rot. Claus. Hiberniae*, Jan. 2, 1406; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, May 1, 1408; Gilbert, *Viceroy of Ireland*, 300-301, 309-310. When Wylie tells us (*Hist. of Henry IV*, chap. xlv, II, 136) that the Prior had already served for four or five years with a great company of horse and foot in Cork, Tipperary and Kilkenny, he is confounding him with his father's brother, who was also Thomas Butler (Graves, *King's Council in Ireland*, pp. 20, 109, 210, 220).

<sup>29</sup> *Rot. Pat. Hiberniae*.

love-story of the third Earl of Ormonde's youth is unpleasant, but surely not uncommon in its period. A young noble of great gifts and high promise marries, in his early twenties, a girl some eight years his junior and does not keep his square, finding his pleasure in that irresponsible East of the social world where bairns are unlawfully got. This was the domestic crisis which moved Chaucer to a pitch of moral indignation, strange to his genial nature. He admits that Arcite, like Elizabeth d'Arcy's son, was "yong and therwithal a lusty knight," but he wrathfully blames and makes the youth's lady blame his doubleness and subtlety in love, and finally reveals him degraded by base servility to a wilful and unworthy woman.

Chaucer again returns to the charge in the falcon's story of "The Squire's Tale." Skeat has noted that "the character of Arcite is precisely that of the false tercelet in Part II of "The Squire's Tale," and Anelida is like the falcon in the same."<sup>30</sup> The parallel passages are many,<sup>31</sup> and the poet evidently wrote the second poem with the first before him. The speaking bird of folk-tales may be, as Clouston says, "essentially Asiatic,"<sup>32</sup> but this particu-

<sup>30</sup> *Complete Works of Chaucer*, I, 534. So also Wells, *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, 631, and Langhans, *Anglia*, XLIV, 1920, 244.

<sup>31</sup> Skeat remarks that "the whole of the passage in 'The Squire's Tale,' 548 f., is a recast of Chaucer's earlier poem of *Anelida*," where Lamech is introduced just in the same way (l. 150). The courtly convention of the lover serving long for his lady is emphasized in both (*Anelida*, 99, F. 523). In both the lover obeys at first the lady's will (*Anelida*, 119, F. 569), but afterwards errs through "new-fangelnesse" (*Anelida*, 141, F. 610). In both green is the color of inconstancy (*Anelida*, 146, F. 644), and the recreant male is a thief (*Anelida*, 161, F. 537). In both there is much sorrow over the deserted one (*Anelida*, 162, F. 462-463), who suffers the pangs of hell (*Anelida*, 166, F. 448), and weeps, wails and swoons (*Anelida*, 169, F. 412, 417, 430, 631).

<sup>32</sup> Compare Farnham's suggestive articles on *The Parlement of*

lar bird does not come out of India or out of Iran, but out of Erin in its flight from the helmet of the Butlers, being the crest of both their Irish houses of Ormonde and Mountgarrett, and even now a supporter of their arms.<sup>33</sup> But the bird is not only a falcon, but a "faucon peregryn of fremde land" (F. 421-422). Now what is the significance of this breed? The author of "The Book of St. Albans,"<sup>33a</sup> Dame Juliana Berners or another, who knew well both heraldry and falconry, remarks that "a tercel gentle is for a prince, a falcon of the rock for a duke, and a falcon peregrine, that is for an earl." So in *The Parlement of Foules* the tercel eagles are royal (cf. lines 340-341, "The gentil faucon that with his feet distreyneth the Kinges hond), and the "tercelet of the falcon"—that is, the male of the peregrine—is the spokesman of the English nobility (l. 529), whose representative title was then that of earl, as dukes were royal and marquises were rare. All this is very much to the point, since we now know that the Earl and Countess of Ormonde inspired the *Anelida and Arcite* prototype of the falcon's story. And the love-tale of the birds, like that of the noble pair,

*Foules*, P. M. L. A., xxxii (1917), 492 f.; *Univ. of Wisconsin Studies*, 1918, 340 f.

<sup>33</sup> Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. iv, s. v. "Mountgarret"; Burke, *Peerage of Great Britain*, s. v. "Ormonde"; Carte, *Life of Duke of Ormonde*, p. xxv. The nobles of the late fourteenth century are frequently indicated in contemporary verse by their badges, supporters or crests. In "King Richard's Ministers," in "Richard the Redeles," in Gower's "Triperfitte Chronicle" (all of them printed by Wright in *Political Poems*, I, 363-454) the Duke of Lancaster and his son Henry are Eagles, the Duke of Gloucester is the Swan, the Earl of Oxford the Boar, the Earl of Warwick the Bear, the Earl of Arundel the Horse, and the Percies and Nevilles Geese and Peacocks. So in later ages Anne Boleyn is the White Falcon; and Lady Douglas Howard is the White Lioness (*Daphnaida*).

<sup>33a</sup> Reprint of 1496 edition, C, V.

of which more anon, concludes with complete reconciliation. Chaucer promises to narrate (F. 654-657):

How that this faucon gat hir love ageyn  
 Repentant, as the storie telleth us,  
 By mediacioun of Cambalus,  
 The kinges sone, of which I yow tolde.<sup>23b</sup>

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<sup>23b</sup> One who feels in Part II of "The Squire's Tale" the presence of historical allegory finds his thoughts turned by this mention of the "mediation of Cambalus the King's son" to the Earl of Cambridge, the son of King Edward (*D. N. B. s. v. Edmund Langley*). Besides the aptness of word-play, the identification has not a little in its favor, as this prince knew Ormonde, receiving ducal honors on the very November day of 1385 on which the Irish Earl was knighted (Malverne, *Polychronicon*, ix, 70). Moreover he was well qualified both by temper and experiences to be a mediator between wife and false husband. A man of gentle nature, he keenly resented Robert de Vere's infidelity to his niece, Philippa de Coucy, at this very period, and he himself had suffered from a wife's unfaith,—the probable theme of *The Complaint of Mars*. That, when "The Squire's Tale" was in the making, he had been for several years Duke of York is not a strong objection to this equation of names, as Edmund retained with the greater title the lesser by which he had been long known. On September 29, 1386, payments out of the customs were made to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Buckingham and Essex and to Edmund, Duke of York and Earl of Cambridge (*Life Records of Chaucer*, iv, 263). It is a far more potent objection—which to some will seem final—that the name "Cambalus" or "Cambalo" is conferred, independently of the falcon's plight, upon "the kinges sone" in Part I (F. 31), which is sheer romance; and that his kinspeople, Cambuskan and Canace and Algarsife, have no allegorical significance. Yet ten lines after our passage (F. 667) Chaucer so confuses the identity of Cambalo that he makes him, as Skeat says in his note, "quite a different person from the Cambalus in F. 656 (called Cambalo in F. 31). He is Canace's lover, who is to fight in the lists *against* her brothers, Cambalo and Algarsife, and win her." So Protean a personality may well serve the ends of allegory. My conclusion of the whole matter is that, while the identification of Cambalus and Cambridge is not improbable, it is not demonstrable by a mass of accumulative evidence like the equations of *Anelida* and *Arcite*. It is sheer co-

However particular interpretations of *The Parlement of Foules* may vary,<sup>33c</sup> scholars, with few exceptions, concur in the belief that the chief birds of the poem are allegorical representatives of great ones of the earth in their hour of young love. Hence our inference that Canace's falcon disguises, and at times very thinly (F. 542, 558, etc.), a woman of high birth and rank, castle-bred ("fostred in a roche of marbul gray"), who suffered much from the doubleness and feigning of a false lover,<sup>33d</sup> is entirely in accord with other workings of Chaucer's fancy. Like every great artist, the poet lifts his theme of love forsworn out of the depths of one man's untruth to the shaky pinacles of world-old and world-wide deception of trusting womanhood, yet his starting-point is Arcite's or d'Arcy's perjured self. He may well have been thinking of Ormonde's splendid youth, when he pictures (F. 622-623) the tercelet as

gentil born and fresh and gay  
And goodly for to seen and humble and free.

Chaucer, after his desultory wont, left the story of *Anelida and Arcite* incomplete. Life finished the tale very happily. Whatever the lapses of youth, the third Earl wore his manhood hale and green. By 1387, when he was

incidence doubtless that Cambridge was the keeper of the royal falcons—"The Kyng then made the Duke of Yorke mayster of the mewhouse and his haukes fayre" (Harding's *Chronicle*)—and was therefore well fitted to compose their domestic differences.

<sup>33c</sup> See Miss Rickert, "A New Interpretation of *The Parlement of Foules*," *Modern Philology*, May, 1920.

<sup>33d</sup> Skeat recognizes the humanity of the story, though not its allegorical import, in his note to F. 499:—"The numerous expressions in this narrative certainly show that the falcon was really a princess (cf. F. 559), who had been changed into a falcon for a time, as is so common in the Arabian Tales. Thus in line 500, the roche or rock may be taken to signify a palace, and the tercelet (line 504) to be a prince. This gives the whole story a human interest."

twenty-four or five, he seemed quite ready to "range himself" in the then approved fashion. On April 4 of that year<sup>34</sup> a license was granted to the King's kinsman, James, Earl of Ormonde, to found a house of Friars Minor in Aylesbury, Bucks, and to alienate to them in mort-main ten acres of land there.<sup>35</sup> Over two hundred years later, Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde, Elizabeth's Earl and Leicester's rival, atoned for the sins of his younger time (he also left two illegitimate children) by founding, in his last will, the Hospital of Our Blessed Saviour of Kilkenny.<sup>36</sup> Was not his predecessor, the third Earl, by his Aylesbury foundation, likewise making amends for slips in sensual mire? "This faucon gat hir love ageyn repentant." Our Ormonde also began to build earthly mansions. He reared the castle of Danesfort and, by building and making the castle of Gowran his usual residence, was commonly called the Earl of Gowran; finally, in September, 1392, he concluded the purchase of the great castle of Kilkenny, which, afterwards became the chief seat of the family (the "brave mansione" of Spenser's sonnet to the Elizabethan Ormonde). The homing instinct, unsuspected in the roving Arcite, was now strong within him, and Anelida at last came into her kingdom. His heirs were born: James, the future Earl, in 1390-1391, as we have seen; and, some three or four years later, Richard (ancestor of the eighth Earl of Or-

<sup>34</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls.*

<sup>35</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 1509, mentions the foundation—"Aylesbury, a house of Grey Friars at South end of the town, founded by James, Earl of Ormonde, in 1387—their revenues were valued at 3 £, 2s, 5d, only, in the reign of Henry VIII." For further description of the house, see Leland, *Itinerary*, iv, 129, and for discussion of an effigy found there see *Archaeologia* L, 84, and Lysons, *Account of Parishes in Middlesex*, 1800, i, 502.

<sup>36</sup> See Carte, Introduction, cxviii.



monde), sponsored by the King himself, when he visited Ireland in 1394. Our Earl became—all this seems too good to be true—a model unto fathers. A nobleman of great accomplishments, master of several languages, he “took great care with the education of his sons, so that his successor was not only a man of good parts, but (which was rare in noblemen at that time) possessor of a great deal of learning” (Carte). He was twice Lord Justice of Ireland (1392, 1404) and, in 1403, Constable of the kingdom—in every way the strongest man in the country, “head of the chivalry of Erin,” the Irish annalists call him.<sup>37</sup> Froissart gleans from his Irish acquaintance, Henry Cristède,<sup>38</sup> a circumstantial account of the Earl of Ormonde’s good offices in bringing to King Richard at Dublin, March 24, 1395, four Irish kings, who performed their vigils in Christ Church and were the next day knighted by the king and sat at his table. The third Earl died in his early forties on September 7, 1405 “post multos egregios labores pro defensione legii populi Hibernie,”<sup>39</sup> crowned with wealth and honors—a man whose last state was better than his first. Anne Welle or Anelida was only thirty-five or so, when her husband died—if, indeed she survived him. Of her later life we can only make pleasant guesses, and trust that God gave her, too, a fair ending.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Graves, *King's Council in Ireland*, *passim*, Wylie, II, 126 f.

<sup>38</sup> *Chroniques*, ed. by Kervyn, xv, 177 f.

<sup>39</sup> *Chartularies of St. Mary's*, II, 326.

<sup>40</sup> The contemporary values of *Anelida* and *Arcite* seem to have passed unnoticed in the next century. Shirley, in his wonted ignorance (according to Manly, *Modern Philology*, XI, 226, he never possesses an authoritative tradition), misses completely the hidden meaning of the poem, when he calls it in his headings both of Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20, and of BM Addit, 16165, “The Complaint of Anelida Queen of Cartage,” and adds in the first MS, that it was “Englished by Geoffrey Chaucer” (Hammond, 356-

Now, in the light of our identification of Anelida and her false knight, let us analyze her story. At the outset it is necessary to remark that two elements temper Chaucer's realism in his version of a contemporary love-tale: needful circumspection and the all-powerful literary tradition of courtly love. As I have already suggested, a poet's censure of a great nobleman must be covert, particularly if the poet is writing in the fourteenth century. He must not shout out from the housetops that James Butler, third Earl of Ormonde, has been untrue to his wife, born Anne Welle, but he must say all this subtly, concealing as well as revealing. Chaucer must be able to allege an alibi, if taxed too persistently by Ormonde's friends, and hence, as everyone will admit, he treads most meticulously on delicate and dangerous ground. Both discretion and courtly conventions forbade much emphasis on the marriage relation of the lovers; but that Anelida was a wife was conveyed in her title of Queen (71, 147, 351), in the comparison (81-82) of her steadfastness to that of those stately matrons, Penelope and Lucretia, to whom no maiden would be likened, in the plighting of troth with her lover and the taking of him as her knight (223-228) and in the 'wedding of her heart to him with a ring' (131). By

357). The copyist's "Hermony" of Harl, 7333, and the colophon, "Hermenye" in both Phillipps 8299 and Pepys 2006, disguise the word-play. In *The Complaint of the Black Knight*, Lydgate does not recognize the false Arcite as more modern than the true. The authoress (if the writer be woman) of *The Assembly of Ladies* is writing either during the Wars of the Roses, when the name of Robert de Welle(s), the Lincolnshire captain, was resounding through England (*Camden Miscellany*, I, 20) or a generation later, when the last of the Welles, now a Viscount, was half-uncle to King Henry VII. But she has doubtless no suspicion that "Anelida the Queen," whom she cites (ll. 465-466), was a lady of that ancient English family. It does not appear that the poem has been read aright since Chaucer's own day.

each and all of these means the marriage relation of the Duke and the Duchess of Lancaster had been suggested in *The Book of the Duchesse*.<sup>40a</sup> Chaucer did not call the false husband, "the King of Ermony," for three sufficient reasons: it was not the part of prudence to point the finger of reproach too markedly at the powerful Earl of

<sup>40a</sup> In *The Book of the Duchesse* the lady is, in her death, the lost "fers" or queen (655, 669, 681, 741), she is as good as Penelope or as the noble wife, Lucretia (1080)—the wifely paragons of the *Roman de la Rose* (8694)—she exchanges vows with her lover and receives him as her knight (1178-1224) and she gives him a ring (1271); yet throughout, in accord with romantic conventions, the words "marriage" and "husband" are never used. As Anelida is "the lady" of Arcite (100, 228, 251), so the fair "Whyte" is "the lady" of the bereaved knight (478, 483, 859, 949, 967, 1055, 1089, 1110, 1179, 1225, 1269). Francis Thynne, with an ignorance of medieval conventions perhaps pardonable in 1599, suggested in his *Animadversions* (*Chaucer Soc.* 1876, p. 30) that "Whyte" was not the Duchess, but "a Miss Whyte, one of the Duke's paramours." Only the uninitiated of our time will similarly plead that Anelida and Arcite are not a married pair. There are many other striking parallels in the stories of the two wives. The fairness of each is compared to the brightness of the sun (*Anelida*, 73; *Duchesse*, 821). In each case Nature rejoices in the beauty of her handiwork (*Anclida*, 80; *Duchesse*, 908, 1195). Both women surpass all others in "trouthe" (*Anelida*, 75-76, *Duchesse*, 999). The knight in black serves long for his lady (*Duchesse*, 1095, 1145, 1200), and Arcite "had ful mikel besynesse, er that he mighte his lady winne" (*Anelida*, 99-100). Each will die if his love is rejected (*Anelida*, 101, *Duchesse*, 1265). Many of these things are, of course, the veriest commonplaces of courtly love (see Dodd, *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, pp. 107-118). Both love-stories are dowered with the romantic setting of a far-off and glamorous world: the *Duchesse* with that of the mythical Octovien, Emperor of Rome; the *Anelida* with that of the equally mythical Theseus and Ipolita. Moreover the contemporary identification of the lovers and their titles is indicated in both by very skilful word-play: "a long castle (Lancaster) with walls white (Blanche), by St. John! (John) on a rich hill (Richmond)"; and Anelida (Anne Welle), Queen of Ermony (Countess of Ermon or Ormonde), and Arcite (the Earl of d'Arcy blood).

Ormonde; it was not in accord with the erotic code, which here served the poet's literary purpose, to present protagonists as man and wife <sup>40b</sup>—save, as we have seen, by implication; and it was not possible to resist the lure of a name (most opportunely provided by the *Teseide*) which would link, however loosely, his story of unhappy love with Boccaccio's mighty personages of fable, "the Theban knight Arcite," for this name became a capital device for indicating the Irish-born nobleman of d'Arcy stock accurately but not too committally. Why should Boccaccio's pattern of lovers, Arcite, later exalted by Chaucer himself in *The Knight's Tale*, be pictured as false, save that the poet needed the name for just such word-play as this? The introduction of Anelida as "Queen of Ermony" at the very beginning of her story (71-72), which is laid in Thebes (she is "in that toun dwelling"), is closely in accord with the facts of Anne Welle's life, as this Lincolnshire woman was already Countess of Ormonde, when she first came to the English pale of Ireland (which I shall later identify with Thebes). What else could or would Chaucer call her? Neither the postponement of Arcite's full-length appearance until two stanzas later, nor the summary of his wooing warrants the inference that the lady was "Queen of Ermony" before Arcite met her, for, if we substitute the real names for the romantic, we learn merely that the Earl had "ful mikel besynesse" before he won his Countess, like the lover in *The Book of the*

<sup>40b</sup> The medieval poet employs the formulas of courtly love, illicit in its origin and often in its nomenclature, even when portraying fidelity to marriage vows or assailing an unfaithful husband. The Victorian laureate, on the other hand, speaks the language of the domestic sanctities, even in the wildwood of classical mythology. Tennyson's mountain nymph, Oenone, once beloved of Paris, cries "Husband," as she leaps upon the funeral pile.

*Duchesse* and like the tercelet of *The Squire's Tale* who served many a year for his peregrine falcon.<sup>40c</sup> Chaucer yields more to the pressure of fact and clings closer to actual conditions than most courtly poets would in an imaginative treatment of a like situation. Dodd is altogether just in declaring <sup>40a</sup> that "the elaborate stanzaic devices (of the 'Complaint') produce an effect of artificiality which the sentiments, ideas and language serve only to strengthen," and he is equally right in adding that "in the narrative, on the other hand, there is abundant vitality and spirit." Chaucer is presumably close to real life in the pleasing picture of Anelida's full confidence in Arcite, which she prettily displays by showing all her letters to him; in the relentless exposure of Arcite's feigned jealousy and his treacherous charges of his lady's falseness; and particularly in the vivid portrayal of the high-handedness of "the new lady"—the kite of the falcon's story. In *Anelida and Arcite* romance and reality amply reinforce each other; and both the circumspection of Chaucer the man and the conventions of Chaucer the artist fail to distort or discolor the facts as we know them.

Now what was Chaucer's purpose in linking his story of an Irish earl's disloyalty to his countess with such far-off persons and places as Theseus and Ipolita and Scythia and Thebes, with all which they have historically as little to do as Shakspeare's "rude mechanicals" of Athens with the same heroes? Surely not all this pother for the mere sake of the Arcite word-play! Was it for mystification only that Chaucer engrafted upon the blended growths of the *Thebais* and the *Teseide* such an excrescence as this bit

<sup>40c</sup> *The Squire's Tale*, F. 524 f. This length of service is doubtless a concession to time-honored convention (*supra*), as Anne Welle's extreme youth forbids belief in very long wooing.

<sup>40a</sup> Dodd, *Courtly Love*, p. 107.

of scandal from the contemporary high-life of Ireland? That would be very poor art, unless the poet succeeded in harmonizing his very borrowings with the life and environment of his chief figures. And I think that he did succeed. The introductory portion of his narrative (ll. 22-70), which owes many of its lines to Statius and Boccaccio, is capable of interpretation in terms of Irish history, without in the least forcing the text or wresting the words and names from their true calling. And Chaucer, as he wrought, taking this bit from the Latin, that from the Italian, and adding here and there lines of his own, was, we may be sure, cunningly aware of every modern implication.

The story thus begins:

"Whan Theseus with werres longe and grete  
The aspre folk of Cithe had overcome,"

What is Scythia ("Cithe"), and who is Theseus? To the man of the Middle Ages Ireland was Scythian in its origin and Scythian in its manners. In the eighth century, Bede<sup>41</sup> and Nennius<sup>42</sup> and their contemporaries regard it as "Scotia," the island of the Scots, who are men of Scythian descent. The early Irish chroniclers, from the ninth century, stoutly allege a Scythian source for their race.<sup>42a</sup> In the twelfth century Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>43</sup> notes two Scythian settlements of Ireland, that of Nemedus and his progeny, who inhabited it for over two hun-

<sup>41</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 1.

<sup>42</sup> *History of the Britons*, sect. 15.

<sup>42a</sup> Among the references usually cited in this connection are the *Leabhar Gabhála* of *The Book of Leinster*, *The Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. by Donovan, 1851), *The General History of Ireland* by Keating, and the *Genealogies* of MacFirbis. See *Chronicon Scotorum* ("Chronicles of the Irish"), *Rolls Ser.*, p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> *Topographia Hiberniae*, dist. III, sects. 1-6.

dred years until their race was overcome by Giants, and that of Dela and his sons, who possessed the whole land, of which the youngest Slanius finally obtained the mastery, and one Spanish settlement, that of Milesius. Edmund Spenser, in his *View of the State of Ireland*, indignantly denies any Spanish strain in Irish blood, and argues at great length that the Irish are truly Scythian in their mantles, their war-cries, their vows and oaths, their arms, their old manner of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of feasting.<sup>44</sup> And in Chaucer's day these later Scythians or "wild Irish" were "aspre folk." Henry Cristède's wonderful narrative of the Ireland of Richard II.'s time, which Froissart has incorporated in his *Chronicles*, is thus rendered by Berners:<sup>45</sup> "Ireland is one of the yvell countreis of the world to make warre upon or to bring under subjection, for it is closed strongly and wydely with high forests and great waters and marshes and places uninhabitable. It is herde to entre to do them of the countrey any dommage, nor ye shall se no town nor persone to speke withal, for the men drawe to the woodes and dwell in caves and small cotages under trees and among bussches and hedges like wylde savage beasts. . . . They be herde people and of rude engyn and wytte and of divers frequentations and usages, they sette nothing by jolite nor fresshe apparell, nor by nobleness, for though their realm be sovereignly governed by kynges, wherof they have plentie, yet they will take no knowledge of gentylness, but will continue in their rudenesse, as they are brought up." <sup>45a</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See Elton, *Origins of English History*, pp. 154, 169, etc.

<sup>45</sup> See Kervyn's ed. xv, 169, and Berner's trsl. ch. ccii.

<sup>45a</sup> For other accounts of "The wilde Irish" see "Libel of English Policy," 1437 (*Political Poems*, II, 185). Borde's "Introduction of Knowledge," 1542, p. 132, and Stanyhurst in Holinshed, chap. viii.

And Theseus? We must seek the man, who not only conquered Scythia, but who married the Scythian Queen. If the "Queen of Ermony" is the Countess of Ormonde, the "Queen of Scythia" is Elizabeth de Burgh, in her own right Countess of Ulster and Lady of Connaught (the Scottish or Scythian lands of the North), whom Chaucer served in his younger time.<sup>45b</sup> She had inherited her titles in her babyhood, when her father, Earl William, was murdered in 1333. The authority of England was almost totally repudiated in Connaught, and very little of her vast heritage was in Elizabeth's hands.<sup>46</sup> King Edward III made the heiress his ward and affianced her to his third son, Prince Lionel, who assumed her titles several years before the marriage of the boy of fourteen and the woman of twenty-one in 1352. Nine years later in 1361 Lionel was sent by his father with a very strong army to Ireland—not only to win his wife's lost possessions back again, but to defend all the lands of English proprietors against the enemy. "Our Irish dominions," wrote the King, "have been reduced to such utter devastation, ruin and misery that they may be totally lost, if our subjects there are not immediately succored."<sup>47</sup> Lionel's wife, the Countess of Ulster, lands with him on September 15,

<sup>45b</sup> That Ulster is preëminently the Scythian province, Spenser's words show (*View of State of Ireland*): "Surely the Scythians, at such time as the Northerne Nations overflowed all Christendome, came downe to the sea-coast, where inquiring for other countries abroad, and getting intelligence of this countrey of Ireland, finding shipping convenient, passed thither, and arrived in the North-part thereof, which is now called Ulster, which first inhabiting, and afterwards stretching themselves forth into the land, as their numbers increased, named it all of themselves Scuttenland, which more briefly is called Scutland, or Scotland." All this is very much to our purpose.

<sup>46</sup> Gilbert's *Viceroy's of Ireland*, p. 215.

<sup>47</sup> Rymer's *Foedera*, March 15, 1361.



1361.<sup>48</sup> Ipolita rides with Theseus. And Lionel of England, to become a twelvemonth later Duke of Clarence, was an heroic figure, in his semblance a worthy modern counterpart of Theseus, likewise prince and duke. Harding tells us in his Chronicle:

In all the world was then no prince him lyke  
Of hie stature and of all semelynesse;  
Above all men within his hole kyngrike  
By the shulders he might be seen doutlesse;  
As a mayde in halle of gentillesse,  
And in all other places sonne to rethorike,  
And in the felde a lyon Marmorike.<sup>49</sup>

Chaucer pictures Theseus honored for his victories over the Scythians, "with his triumph and laurer-crowned thus," "in all the floure of fortunes yevinge." The sober annalist of St. Mary's writes of Lionel's victories over the "wild Irish" in 1361 and 1362: "Leonellus redegit totum populum tam de Anglia, quam de Hibernia in unum, et bene prosperatur et fecit plura bella circumquaque cum Hibernicis cum adiutorio Dei et populi Hibernie." Far less success than this on the part of a prince will feed the enthusiasm of a poet of the court looking back through the years on the valor of young royalty. But Lionel's triumph was only temporary. He withdrew from Ireland in 1367, having failed to regain his wife's lands.

Although Statius, whom Chaucer is following just here,

<sup>48</sup> *Chartularies of St. Mary's*, II, 395, A. D., 1361:—"Leonellus, Comes Ultonie, jure hereditario uxoris sue et filius Domini Regis Anglie, venit in Hiberniam, Tenens-locum Domini Regis Anglie, et applicuit apud Dublin in octava die Beate Virginis Nativitatis, ducens secum uxorem suam, Elizabetham, filiam et heredem Domini Willelmi de Burgo, Comitis Ultonie."

<sup>49</sup> This passage in Harding is quoted, with much other information about Lionel in Professor Cook's valuable monograph, "The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron," *Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, Dec., 1916. See also *D. N. B.* s. v. "Lionel."

does not mention Emily, the English poet takes the younger lady out of the *Teseide*, and puts her with her sister, Ipolita, in Theseus' golden chariot of victory. Why? Not, I think, because she is needed for the story of Anelida, in which she plays no part, but rather it would seem, because the Countess of Ulster's younger sister was among the great nobles summoned to Ireland in Lionel's train. Who was this sister? Elizabeth was her father's sole daughter and heir. But, after his early death in 1333, her mother Matilda or Maud Plantagenet had married Ralph Ufford, Viceroy of Ireland (1344-1346), and had borne to him a daughter, to whom she had given her own name. Before May 1, 1358, Maud Ufford married Thomas de Vere, eighth Earl of Oxford—her name appears with his in a deed of that date (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*). Among the proprietors of Irish lands summoned by royal command to attend Lionel in his expedition of 1361 are the Earl and Countess of Oxford.<sup>50</sup> On February 10, 1362, they are again ordered by the King to be in Ireland within a fortnight of Easter. In lines that are his own Chaucer pictures this notable gathering (ll. 34-35):

Many a bright helm and many a spere and targe,  
Many a fresh knight and many a blisful route.  
On hors, on fote, in al the felde aboute

"Emily" <sup>51</sup> may well have ridden in her sister's com-

<sup>50</sup> This is Edward's summons to his nobles (*Foedera*, March 15, 1361): "Ordinavimus quod Leonellus, comes Ultonie, filius noster carissimus cum ingenti exercitu ad terram pradietam (Hiberniam) cum omni festinatione transmitteretur. Et quod omnes magnates et alii de dicto regno nostro terras in dicta terra Hiberniae habentes quanto potentius poterunt in comitiva dicti filii nostri profiscerentur, vel si debiles in corpore existant loco eorum alios sufficientes ibidem mittant."

<sup>51</sup> A woman of character, this Maud Ufford or de Vere, well worthy to foreshadow Emily. In 1386, when her son, Richard's favorite,

pany. To that sister, Chaucer's first patroness, the Countess of Ulster, the poet pays a splendid compliment, for which his original gives no warrant (40-42):

Al the ground aboute hir char she spradde  
With brightnesse of the beautee in hir face,  
Fulfilde of largesse and of alle grace.

Elizabeth or "Ipolita" shared the seeming triumphs of only the first two years of her husband's campaign in Ireland, as she died in 1363, four years before Lionel left that unhappy country, vowing never to return.

But what, may be asked, has Lionel's expedition of 1361 to do with a love story of some twenty-five years afterward? Just as much or just as little as Theseus and Ipolita and Emily in the poem have to do with Anelida and Arcite, who may very well be the creatures of another generation. After Theseus and his troop have ridden finally out of the story (45-46), the reader hears of long and bloody wars between Thebes and Greece (50-75). Not until these are over, do the lovers appear. Chaucer revives youthful memories of Ireland and its wars—either hearsay or, as I think, actual observation in the train of Lionel and his Countess—before passing to the contemporary scandal of the great Irish house of Ormonde. Henry Cristède, Froissart's acquaintance, tells in a few pages<sup>52</sup> a story already quoted of Ireland that blends the recollections of his youth, when he rode by the side of the

Robert de Vere (1362-1392), the notorious Duke of Ireland, abandoned his wife, Isabella de Coucy, the Countess of Oxford "took the Duchess to her and kept her still in her estate, and such as owed the lady any good will gave her great thanks therefore." (Froissart, XII, 328.) After Richard's death she was arrested and imprisoned for spreading the report that the King was still alive (Walsingham, II, 262). "Emily" died on January 25, 1413 (*Eulogium Historiae*).

<sup>52</sup> *Chroniques*, xv, 168-178.

second Earl of Ormonde before Lionel came to the country in 1361, with his account of the third Earl's good offices as a peacemaker between Richard and four Irish kings thirty-five years later. So Chaucer, great story-teller that he is, creates for those who can read between the lines an Irish atmosphere before telling an Irish story.

There is yet more to note. We are twice reminded that Arcite is a "Theban knight" (ll. 85, 210).<sup>52a</sup> And Theban, as opposed to Scythian or "wild Irish," must mean, as Ormonde is one, the Englishman by blood, descendant of the Anglo-Norman settlers of two centuries before, the de Burghs, the Fitz-Geralds, the Fitz-Maurices, the Fitz-Walters or Butlers. As Gilbert says,<sup>53</sup> "The feuds in the colony between the English by birth (Chaucer's 'people of Greece') and the English by blood ('people of Thebes') reached such an alarming height that Edward ordered the Viceroy and Chancellor to interfere in composing those dissensions, and to punish with fine and imprisonment of two years all English subjects, born in England or Ireland, who, within his Irish territories, should use contumelious language to one another or engage in quarrels or strife among themselves." William de Burgh (Theban), father of Chaucer's Countess, was slain by the Mandevilles, and his own kinsmen became an Irish sept under the name of MacWilliam. John de Bermingham, Earl of Louth (Theban), was murdered by Gernors, Cusacks, Evarards and other English settlers (Grecians). The mutinous de Berminghams (Thebans),

<sup>52a</sup> It is possible that Chaucer, in calling Ormonde a "Theban knight" is recalling the knighthood conferred upon the Earl in November, 1385, but it is much more probable that he is merely using the phrase in accord with courtly convention, as in *The Book of the Duchesse* (*supra*).

<sup>53</sup> *Viceroy of Ireland*, p. 221.

becoming a sept under the name of MacPheorais, sought to eject the King's Chief Baron and later to hold to ransom the English Chancellor (men of Greece). The Le Poers (Thebans) joining their naval forces to those of such "Scythians" as the O'Driscolls, sailed against Waterford and slew the Sheriff, the Master of the Hospital of St. John, and many citizens and merchants of importance, and "hewed and cut to pieces" the body of the Mayor. Even Thebans like the Ormondes and the Desmonds were constantly at feud.

Mars, which that through his furious course of yre  
The olde wrath of Juno to fulfille,  
Hath set the peples hertes bothe on fyre  
Of Thebes and Grece, everich other to kille  
With bloody speres, ne rested never stille,  
But throng now her now ther, among hem bothe,  
That everich other slough, so wer they wrothe.

The mouth-filling Greek and Theban names that follow in the poem may easily be matched with those of Anglo-Norman warriors of Ireland who engaged in fratricidal strife. The last act of Lionel's administration was the enactment, by the colonial parliament during the first week of Lent, 1367, of the famous statute of Kilkenny, designed to heal the difference between the English born in England and the English born in Ireland, and to prohibit intercourse and intermarriage between the English and the Irish.<sup>54</sup>

During the term of Lionel's successor as Viceroy, Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond, a Theban of strong character and wide influence, who may possibly be "the olde Creon,"<sup>54a</sup> a statute was enacted at Guilford in 1368,

<sup>54</sup> *Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland*, ed. by Berry, I, 430.

<sup>54a</sup> I do not wish to press this identification, but Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, was the only ruling spirit who fills the gap between

ordering that "all persons of whatsoever state or degree who claimed to have any lordships, lands, or other possessions in Ireland should, without excuse or delay, go and dwell there before Easter, 1369, with their families and establishments and with men-at-arms and other soldiery, according to the extent of their estates." This enactment, or some similar one equally drastic,—which dealt to "absentee landlordism" a blow, from which it may not have recovered at the date of *Anelida and Arcite*—must have been in Chaucer's thought, when he thus departed widely from his original, the *Teseide* (64-70):

And whan the olde Creon gan espye  
How that the blood roial was broght adoun,  
He held the cite by his tirannye,  
And did the gentils of that regioun  
To ben his frendes, and dwellen in the toun.  
So what for love of him, and what for awe,  
The noble folk wer to the toune y-drawe,

"The cite" or "the toune" (Thebes) is evidently the English pale.

As we have seen, the names upon which Chaucer plays so artfully, "Ermony," and "Anelida," and "Arcite," point so directly to "Ormonde" ("Ermonia") and "Anne Welle" and "d'Arcy," that, with dates and circumstances duly adhering, the conclusion is irresistible that the poet, in the stanzas of his own invention, is dealing with the married unhappiness of the Irish Butlers. It is, perhaps, more difficult to demonstrate that the prelude of his story, which is largely a medley of borrowings from Statius and Boccaccio, is part and parcel of the historical allegory of

the generations. His influence was felt both in Lionel's time and in the days of Anne Welle's coming to Ireland. He was Viceroy in 1367; in 1381 he was appointed to repress the malice of the rebels in Munster; and again in 1386 he acted in Munster as Deputy of the Viceroy. He was an hereditary enemy of the Butlers.

Ireland and one of its noble families; but the identification of "Scythia" with Ireland, of "Ipolita, the Queen of Scythia" with "Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster," of her husband, "Duke Theseus of Athens" with the royal Duke of Clarence, of "her young sister, Emily," with Maud Ufford, of contending Thebans and Grecians with the English born in Ireland and those born in England ever engaged in bloody feuds, seems to make assurance more than doubly sure. Add to these resemblances Chaucer's additions to his sources: his vivid picture of the knightly troop of Theseus, the counterpart of the brilliant company that attended Lionel; the noble tribute to Ipolita, which we read as the poet's compliment to his own liege lady, Elizabeth; and finally, the compulsion that brought "the noble folk" to Thebes duplicated by the statutes or decrees that summoned the Irish landowners to their homes. Is there any room left for doubt?

Let us remember that, of all the "Theban" or Anglo-Irish families, none were closer to Lionel and his lady than their cousins, the Ormondes, the second Earl James and his Countess who was born a d'Arcy. This Earl was Lord Justice of Ireland, 1359-1361, and, when Lionel came in the latter year, he fought bravely under his banner against the rebels in Ulster, Leinster and Munster. When the Duke was absent in England from April to December of 1364, Ormonde was his Lord Deputy. The books of Carte and Graves and Gilbert are full of these things. Moreover, we find in the *Foedera* King Edward III granting, on March 1, 1363, his cousin, the second Earl's mother, Eleanor, who had married after her second lord's death Sir Thomas Dagforth, two hundred pounds for her husband's labors and expenses in the Irish wars, especially from the coming of the King's very dear son, Lionel. Every member of Lionel's household must have

known all these Ormondes well, and as still a member of that household after his French wars, I am disposed to reckon Geoffrey Chaucer, on account of his comprehensive knowledge of Lionel in Ireland and of Irish conditions at this time. As we have no knowledge of Chaucer's movements for six years after October 1360, our inference that he returned to the service of the Countess of Ulster and remained with her until her death in Ireland in 1363—and perhaps with her husband longer—has nothing against it.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting to recall that, in 1362 or 1363, was born to the Ormondes that heir whom Chaucer may have known in his cradle and whom he stigmatizes over twenty years later as “the false Arcite.”

Chaucer completes the preliminary mystification of giving a semblance of antiquity to “the heir of his invention” by alleging as his authority one “Corinne,” “First folow I Stace, and after him Corinne.” Now there is no reason to suppose that Corinne is Corinnus or Corippus or Colonna or Ovid, disguised under his lady's name, or anybody else than Corinna, a poetess of Pindar's time and country. If Chaucer could not have gotten the name from the *Silvae* of Statius (v, iii, 156), on account of the rarity of that work in the fourteenth century,<sup>56</sup> he could certainly have derived it from Propertius, II, iii, 21, as he derived his “Lollius” from Horace, of whom he elsewhere

<sup>55</sup> Professor Cook, in his monograph, “The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight” (*Conn. Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1916, pp. 179-181), discusses in some detail Lionel's stay in Ireland, and conjectures that Chaucer was in his service during the whole six years of his rule. He finds “corroboration of this surmise” in Chaucer's oft-quoted account of an Irish wicker house in *The House of Fame*, 1936 f. *Anelida and Arcite* furnishes much more potent evidence in favor of Chaucer's Irish residence.

<sup>56</sup> See E. F. Shannon, “The Source of Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*” (*P. M. L. A.*, XXVIII, 465).



shows little or no knowledge. Propertius, whose non-appearance in the Middle Ages no one will plead, as his works existed in several manuscripts,<sup>57</sup> had written:

Et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae  
Carmina quae quivis, non putat aequa suis.<sup>58</sup>

That Corinna was an old poetess, Chaucer may thus have known, but how was he aware that she was a Theban who had celebrated the Seven against Thebes? Did he hit this bull's eye by accident? If so, it is an amazing coincidence that he should have selected from the obscure names of antiquity the very author most suitable to his device of a pretended Theban story. For my part, I am inclined to scout the idea of a happy accident and to believe that somewhere, somehow, Chaucer had found Corinna associated with Thebes and its legends. In any case "Corinne" is a mere blind to cover his own imaginings.<sup>59</sup>

When we turn from *Anelida and Arcite* (22-46) to *The Knight's Tale*, "al the love of Palamon and Arcyte of Thebes," we find that the poet has freed his story (see A. 859-874, 964-981) from all Irish implications through additions and omissions, many of them effected by the abandonment of Statius for Boccaccio. Theseus is now

<sup>57</sup> The Codices Neapolitanus and Vossianus, and Petrarch's famous manuscript, which Coluccio Salutati copied, all antedate Chaucer (see Butler's edition of Propertius, 1905, Introduction, and Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 6).

<sup>58</sup> Had Shannon known of this passage from Propertius, he would have made no claims for Ovid, the author of the *Amores*, sometimes known as "Corinna," for the very starting point of his argument is the assumption that Chaucer could never have heard of the old poetess.

<sup>59</sup> Though Chaucer is voicing something so real as Anne Welle's passion for Ormonde, it is very possible that he employed the *Heroides* of Ovid here and there in *Anelida*, as Mr. Shannon believes. All our thoughts have stirred dead bosoms.

"the greatest conqueror under the sun," an honor that it would have been absurd to claim for Lionel; he wars against "the regne of Femenye," the land of the Amazons, not merely against its synonym, Scythia, the Ireland of the *Anelida*; he marches against Creon and the Thebans, against whom Theseus wages no war in the earlier poem, because he is there Lionel and they Englishmen of old Anglo-Norman stock; and, above all, Theseus and Ipolita and Emily are now closely associated with Arcite, as they could not be in the romance of *Anelida*, where their prototypes were beings of different generations.<sup>59</sup> Moreover we no longer meet in the Canterbury story the vivid description of the Duke's knightly company, "Many a fresh knight and many a blisful route," because Chaucer is no longer thinking of the great levy of the English landholders of Ireland; nor the stately compliment to Ipolita, because Ipolita is no longer Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster;<sup>60</sup> nor the fourteen-line sketch of the long and bloody feud between Thebes and Greece, because the poet's mind

<sup>59</sup> The complete dissociation of the first group of characters, Theseus, Ipolita and Emily, from the second, *Anelida* and Arcite, negatives Heath's unfortunate suggestion (*Globe Edition*, xxxviii) that "Chaucer, doubtless, intended to reintroduce Theseus, with whom the poem opens, as the avenger of *Anelida*." This dissociation constitutes convincing evidence of the priority of *Anelida* and *Arcite*. Having once brought together the heroic figures in the intimate relation of *The Knight's Tale*, no artist could or would have wrenched them as far asunder as they are in the smaller poem.

<sup>60</sup> Ipolita possibly becomes again the Countess of Ulster for one brief moment in *The Knight's Tale*, when Chaucer, forsaking Boccaccio, mentions (l. 26) "the tempest at hir hoomcominge." If that storm was ever brewed in England, it raged after the wedding of Elizabeth and Lionel thirty years before the landing of Anne of Bohemia, with which it has been associated (Lowes, *Modern Language Notes*, xix, 240-242). Anne had nought in common with the Scythian queen. Curry just now suggests (*M. L. N.*, May, 1921) that "tempest" renders the *clamor* of Statius.

is no longer intent on the clash between "Englishmen by blood" and "Englishmen by birth;" nor Creon's gathering of "the noble folk" in the town, because statutes assembling the English proprietors of Ireland are no longer in Chaucer's thought. A comparison between the earlier and later poems thus emphasizes the distinctly allegorical character of *Anelida and Arcite* and its rich suggestions of contemporary life.

The discovery of the persons and the circumstances that prompted the composition of *Anelida and Arcite* has a large bearing upon Chaucer's chronology and development. Few will deny the conclusiveness of Tatlock's argument<sup>61</sup> that *Anelida and Arcite* must have been written before "The Knight's Tale," both because Chaucer would not have debased Arcite of the Canterbury story, who embodies a high ideal and whom he sketches with strong liking, and because the break in the description at the end of the *Anelida* shows that he meant to use Mars' Temple in the later and greater work. But, as we have seen, the *Anelida* is based upon an incident of the middle eighties. Anne Welle could not have become Countess of Ermon or Ormonde ("Queen of Ermony") before October, 1382, when the third Earl succeeded to the title, nor can it be actually proved that she was "Queen" before June, 1386, when we first meet together "the Earl of Ormonde and Anne, his wife." Since Chaucer is not writing of a child, but of a young woman, she probably did not gain her title by marriage before 1384 at the earliest. As her husband's infidelities and the births of his base-born children may very well belong to the middle eighties, I am inclined to place our poem about 1385, or indeed in 1386—in any

<sup>61</sup> *Development of Chaucer's Works*, pp. 83 f. Tatlock runs directly counter to Ten Brink's contentions (*Studien*, 39, *Eng. Lit.*, II, 190).

case immediately before "The Knight's Tale," which is the "Palamon and Arcite" of the *Legend* Prologue, "only slightly, if at all revised." Hence there is every reason for stoutly denying to "The Knight's Tale," in its earliest form, a date as early as 1382. I should place it with Tatlock in 1385—or rather in 1386.

It may be objected that the date, 1386, for *Anelida and Arcite* and for the first version of "The Knight's Tale" is the very year assumed for the earlier Prologue of the *Legend*, which, from its mention of "al the love of Palamon and Arcite," obviously follows our poems; and that we are therefore crowding all these compositions into too small a space of time. Twofold answer is ready. First, that, if the very real dates of Anne Welle and her husband do not coincide with a "Chaucerian Chronology," about which no two people agree,<sup>62</sup> let us use this new light to

<sup>62</sup> Langhans, the writer of a very recent article on *Anelida and Arcite* in *Anglia*, XLIV, 1920, 226-244, dates the poem in 1373-1374, "just before the Parlement of Foules (1374)," on the basis of a "chronology" supposedly long since extinct. Furnivall places it in 1375-1376, Pollard in 1380, Lowes in the early eighties, Koch in 1383, Tatlock in 1384-1385, Skeat 1384 (1385?), Ten Brink after 1390. Obviously the bugbear of "Chaucerian Chronology" is not a very formidable spectre. The year 1386, as the date of *Anelida*, seems to satisfy the two conditions of our problem, one of which has hitherto been entirely unknown, and the other misapplied: the Ormondes' early misadventure in marriage, and the indirect allusion to the poem in the *Legend* Prologue. Though, as we have already remarked, accurate knowledge of a very young noblewoman's years is not to be expected of a poet in his middle or late forties, *Anelida's* age, "twenty yeer of elde," might suggest a later date for the poem than 1386, when Anne Welle could not have been more than sixteen. But much, if any, later it cannot be. Ormonde and his wife were certainly reconciled by 1389-1390, as their heir was born the next year. Then it seems natural to trace to a liaison that won so wide a notoriety as to gain a court-poet's rebuke the birth of one, if not both, of the Earl's natural children, who, to judge from the dates

reshape the chronology, even though we shatter many assumptions. And secondly, that the writer will soon present newly discovered reasons for believing that the first version of the *Legend* Prologue was written after 1386—which date has value in this connection only as a possible starting-point—indeed after 1387, the year of Philippa Chaucer's death.

In *Anelida and Arcite*, uneven and fragmentary though it is, we come very close to Chaucer—as close as anywhere else in his poetry. We see him not only browsing among “olde bokes,” stories of Theseus and Thebes, but watching and recording, like the note-taking chiel that he was, the lives and loves of a man and a woman in his own red-blooded day and hour. Where, save here and in the falcon's story of “The Squire's Tale,” can we share his very real indignation, as he scourges a false lover not of an old fable of Greece, but of a modern family of Ireland—probably well known to him since his early manhood twenty years before—a child of the Ormondes whom the young squire of its royal cousins may have dandled in its infancy? Where else is Chaucer so vocal with the big bow-wow thing of his day as in this cryptic but vivid narration of English wars in Ireland—the glare and glitter of the levies and triumphs—and of the long and bloody feuds between the old Anglo-Norman settlers and the newcomers of English birth? And where, though his very words are borrowed and his meaning is cloaked, does he seem more a part of what he has met? And where else does he invoke in the

of their manhood, must have been in the world by 1385 or 1386; hence even 1387, the year in which Ormonde founds his Aylesbury house of Friars, perhaps as a penance for his sin, seems a bit too late. The *Legend* Prologue, the first version of which is a *terminus ad quem* of *Anelida*, is probably a product of the latest eighties; but more of that elsewhere.

deeps of his middle age the brilliant figures who were very near to his daily life when all his world was young—Lionel, a very Theseus in his lordly grace, Elizabeth de Burgh spreading about Ipolita's golden car the brightness of her beauty, and Maud Ufford as Emily in the sheen of her youth? And all of this, and with it so much of the poet himself, readers for five hundred years have missed.

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